GEDANKE UND WIRKUNG

FESTSCHRIFT ZUM 90. GEBURTSTAG VON NIKOLAUS POPPE

Herausgegeben von
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form annehmen. Jedenfalls liegt auch hier eine besonders eigenständige Entwicklung des Chaladsch vor, mag diese auch nicht so eigenartig sein wie die Gestalt der chaladsch Imperativformen oder so archaisch wie die Bewahrung des h-.[7]

Das Suffix *-rsAm* usw. in der Kopula nach Vokal geht offensichtlich auf älteres *ärsäm* 'wenn ich bin' zurück (während im übrigen die Bedeutung 'wenn ich bin' durch *o·lsam* ausgedrückt wird). Auch hierin zeigt sich die besondere Eigenart des Chaladsch.

[7] Hier noch ein Wort zur Präteritalform. Wie Lars Johanson (Alttürkisch als „dissimilierende Sprache", Mainz/Wiesbaden 1979) festgestellt hat, erscheint das Präteritum im Runentürkischen (Orchontürkischen) i.a. als [-δ-], gewöhnlich umschrieben als „-d-", dagegen nach n, l, r als „t", was als Aussprache [-d-] aufzufassen ist. Die einzige Ausnahme ist stetiges „*brdi*" 'ging' = [ba'rδï] oder [ba'răδï]. Im Chaladsch lautet das Präteritalsuffix stets *-d-* (hier ist also altes *-δ-* und *-d-* lautgesetzlich zusammengefallen). Jedoch heißt es nicht **-Ardi* 'war', sondern stets *-Arti,* was auf *ärti* weist. Ich kann die Rätsel *ba'rδï, ärti* nicht lösen. Auch die sonst so tüchtige und präzise Arbeit Peter Ziemes: Untersuchungen zur Schrift und Sprache der manichäisch-türkischen Turfantexte, Berlin o.J. hilft hier nicht weiter, da (S.66) zwar Statistiken zur Distribution von mit -δ-/-d- anlautenden Suffixen, jedoch keine konkreten Belege gegeben werden. Statistisch jedenfalls gleicht das Manichäisch-Türkische dem Orchontürkischen. In jenen Texten, die mir zugänglich waren (in manichäischer Schrift) habe ich stets *barδi* gefunden (auch, wo die Schreibung „-t-" nach n, l, r nicht selten war), und ebenso stets *ärti,* so etwa bei A. von Le Coq: Chuastuanift, ein Sündenbekenntnis der manichäischen Auditores, ABAW 1910 Anhang, Berlin 1911. Dies würde nun für das Präteritum drei Allomorphe ergeben: *-δ-/-d-/-t-*. In einem Briefe vom 7.6.86 teilt mir Zieme für die ihm zugänglichen Texte mit: Stets „*bardi*" usw. (nie **„barti*"), aber „*berdi*" ~ „*berti*"; nur ein Beleg „*ärdi*" (in uigurischer Schrift!), sonst stets *ärti.*

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Ḫanlar Ulaḳı
(The Succession of Kings)

On the illustrated Genealogy, with Uyġur Inscriptions, of Mongol and Temürid Dynasties, at the Topkapı Library

I. The traditional background and the comparable manuscripts

The tradition of Mongol genealogical lists of kings is attributed, in one of these, the *Muᶜizz'ul-ansāb,*[1] written in Persian, in H. 830/1426, to earlier Turkish precedents, through the following introductory remarks:[2]

> *"Dar miyān-i pādisāhān-i Türk ve Moġol, har kasī ki bāsad, albattah muḫāfaẓat-i uruḳ-i ḫod kunand ... Muᶜarriḫān-i Atrāk-i ṣādik'ul-ḳavl, cuñan takrīr makunand"* (Among Turkish and Mongol kings, all naturally took care to keep a record of their genealogy ... The veracious Turkish historians have agreed on the following ...).

Indeed, the Turks with whom the Mongols came in direct contact, the Uyġurs did keep a record of dynastic genealogies, as seen in the new reading of the Terḫ stele, by Klyaštornı̂y[3], as well as on the Ordu-balı̀ḳ[4] inscription and the Kansu stele, on the Idiḳuts of Koço.[5] Even some of the Mongol genealogical lists had been made by the Uyġurs, as the manuscript dated 1324, found in Ḳoço, from which the title *Ḫanlar ulaḳı* of this paper has been derived.[6] The Uyġur manuscript names six generations of Mon-

[1] The ms *Muᶜizz'ul-ansāb,* Ancien fond Persan 67 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[2] Ibid., fols. 1 and 2v.

[3] S.G. Klyaštornı̂y, "The Tes inscription of the Uyghur Bögü Qaghan", *Acta Orientalia Acad. scien. Hungaricae,* XXXIX/1 (1985), 145–50.

[4] G. Schlegel, *Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem uighurischen Denkmal von Kara-balgasun* (Helsingfors, 1896).

[5] Geng Shimin – J.R. Hamilton, "L' Inscription ouigoure de la stèle commémorative des Iduq-qut de Qočo", *Turcica,* XIII (1981), 10–54.

[6] A. von Gabain, *Die Drucke der Turfan-Sammlung* (Berlin, 1967), 20–22.

gol monarchs, starting with Činn̂giz Ḫan. The contribution of Turkish historians, together with Mongol ones, to the redaction of Rašīd'ud-Dīn's History of the Turco-Mongols is also supposed by Hofman,[7] on the basis of several fragments of manuscripts. A further support to the existence of Uyġur cooperation, is the insertion, within the History, in one case, of a genealogical list,[8] with Turkish inscriptions, in Uyġur script, which will be described below, among the genealogical trees to be cited. Two of these, with Turkish inscriptions, to the genealogy inserted in the History of the Turco-Mongols (ms 1620 of Taškent,[9] and the one in the Topkapï Miscellany album H. 2152, are[10] illustrated. The genealogy with Mongolian inscription (A. III 2937 of Topkapï) has[11] not been completed with effigies of kings. (It was thought by Z. V. Togan to be a copy of Rašīd'ud-Dīn's comparative genealogies of the dynasties of five nations, the *Šuʿb-i Pandjgānah*.) The extant illustrations will be briefly mentioned, the iconography being discussed, only in relation with the Topkapï, H. 2152 fragment. Although the illustrations lack, the *Muʿizz*[12] will yet provide answers to the question of the genealogical tree's lay-out.

On Uyġur tradition on representing the effigies of monarchs, within a genealogical tree,[13] one may quote Djuvaïnï: "They (the Uyġurs) call their princes Idiḳut. And that family tree ... is fastened upon the wall in their houses." Uyġur art represented the Manichean tree,[14] on the branches of which saints were enthroned, together with princely worshippers. Djuvaïnï however appears to describe a tree on which the members of the Idiḳut dynasty were seen aligned. Anyway, the tree was a symbol of royal dynasties among Turks since the Kök-Türk age (reported in the sixth century) and continued to be so in the Mongol period as known from the interpretation of a dream in Rašīd'ud-Dīn's History of the Oġuz.

[7] H. F. Hofman, *Muslim Central Asian Chaghatayan Authors* (Utrecht, 1969), entry "Rashīd-ud Dīn Faḍlullah".

[8] See note 16 infra.

[9] Ibid.

[10] See the second section of this paper.

[11] See note 15 inf.

[12] See note 1 supra.

[13] Idiḳut tree: J. Boyle, *ʿAṭa Malik Juvaïnï's History of the World-conqueror* (Manchester, 1958), 61. Kök-Türk tree: Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken* (Wiesbaden, 1958), 54. The Oġuz tree: K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oġuzen des Rashīd ad-Dīn* (Wien, 1969), 64.

[14] See E. Esin, *A History of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Turkish culture* (Istanbul, 1980), pl. LXXIV/B.

The *Šuʿb*,[15] which in Togan's opinion was the earliest of the genealogies composed in the area of Islamic culture, showed only the Mongol dynasty, from the legendary ancestress Alan-ḳo'a to Ġazan Ḫan. The Topkapï *Šuʿb-i Moġol*, on folios 96 r–199 v. of the Ms. A. 2937 of Topkapï, is a copy of an earlier model. The inscriptions are in Mongolian.

The genealogy with Uyġur and Arabic inscriptions, inserted in the Taškent (no 1620) copy of Rašīd'ud-Dīn's History of the Turco-Mongols[16], was dated by Barthold in the middle of the fourteenth century. Seven illustrations were foreseen, not all of which were finished, one remaining only in its contours. Two are ink drawings and one is a painting representing Ögedey and his consort, depicted in the same manner as the legendary ancestress Alan-ḳo'a and her historical spouse. There follow Ögedey's son Güyük and the names of Ögedey's descendants. The particular stress laid on Ögedey suggests that the genealogy had been made in Samarḳand, around 1370–1402. Two scions of the Ögedey branch had then been enthroned by Temür Küregen.[17] Although he was the real ruler, Temür Küregen attended the audiences of these *Ḫans* as holder of the rank of chief military dignitary (*uluġ amīr*, or *beg*).[18] The historian Abū'l-Ġāzī Bahadur Ḫan even reports that on formal occasions (*toy*) and religious gatherings Temür sat in the kneeling posture denoting a rank inferior to that of monarch:[19] *"Toyda ve ʿÏdlarda, Emīr Ṯemür, Ḫanga körünüs kılub, edeb birlen čök tüṣüb, olturur irdi".*

The *Muʿizz*,[20] with Arabic inscriptions, was made on the order of Šāhruḫ, in H. 830/1426, but apparently, as stated in its introduction, followed earlier Turco-Mongol models. It displays nevertheless some later features: the genealogy of the Temürids is also included and, after Činn̂giz Ḫan, the composition of the folios becomes more elaborate, reproducing apparently the etiquette of alignment on formal occasions. The médaillon with the monarch's name is placed centrally, with the names of the wives and of the offspring on the right and those of the *amīrs* and other dignitaries on the left. The groups on the right and left are again divided into two wings. In the case of the royal issue, the daughters are placed on the right (west,

[15] Z. V. Togan, "The Composition of the History of the Mongols", *Central Asiatic Journal*, VII/1 (Wiesbaden, 1962) 65–70.

[16] The ms 1620 in *Sobranie vostocnyix rukopisey Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, vol. I.

[17] These were Suyurġutmïš and his son Maḥmūd (died 1402): Abu'l-Ġāzī Bahadur Ḫan, *Secere-i Turk*, P. I. Desmaison ed. (Amsterdam, 1970), 153, 155, 160–63.

[18] See M. Kafalï, "Timur", *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1974), 339.

[19] Abū'l-Gāzī, 174–75.

[20] See note 1 sup.

if the monarch faces the south) and the sons on the left. The genealogy of the Činǧizḫanids ends on folio 79 with Abū Saʿīd Bahadur.

The Temürid genealogy starts on folio 81 with the Amīr Ḳaračar Noyan and this statement: *"Muʾarriḫān-i Turk va Moġol čunān guyand ki vāḍiʿ-i mamlakā* (!) *va töre-i* Činǧiz Ḫan īn Ḳaračar Noyan bud" (The Turkish and Mongol historians say that this Ḳaračar Noyan had been the founder of the realm and code of Cinǧiz Ḫan).

The same order is observed on the folios devoted to the Temürids. With Temür Küregen, however, additional details are introduced. The names of two categories of scribes (*nuvaīsandagān*), respectively Turkish (*Turk*) and *"Tāzīk",* are also given immediately after the *amīrs.* The distinction seems based on the specialities of Uyġur and Arabic scripts, as the names point to multiple origins. Some Mongol names appear in the Turkish group, together with Turkish ones and several scribes indicated as Uyġurs. The Turkish scribes are repeatedly titled *Baḫšī*[21], an epithet reserved among Buddhist Uyġurs to holy figures, but later extended to scholars of universal scope from eastern Asia, including scribes in Uyġur script and artists. The *"Tāzīk",* on the other hand, generally have Arabic names. But some Turkish names, or epithets, such as Saġïrdjï, also figure among the *"Tāzīk",* as well as a few names accompanied with the epithet *"Muġ"* (Magian). It is probably in the category of the scribes (generally also painters) that the artists who made the genealogical lists should be sought.[22]

II. The genealogical tree, with Uyġur inscriptions, by Čïn, son of ʿAlī-sāh, in the Miscellany album H. 2152 of Topkapï

The genealogical tree had been initially a scroll, cut in haphazard fashion, to be pasted in the Album, some of the figures being divided in halves, or separated from the related inscription. The artist's name figures, in Arabic letters, designed into a square, seal-like form, in Turkish, as: *"Al-ʿašïḳ Billāh, Čïn bin ʿAlīšāh etheri"* (The work of the ecstatic on God, Čïn, son of ʿAlī-šah) (fig. 37). This artist may be a son of ʿAlī-šāh Baḫšï, who wrote,

[21] On the word, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen.* (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), s. v. On the Turkish terms *vaḫšï, vaḫšïcï,* meaning artist and the Manchu word *faksi,* as variants of *baḫšï/baḳšï,* see F. W. K. Müller, "Zwei Pfahlinschriften aus den Turfanfunden", *Abh. d. Preußischen Akademie d. Wiss.,* Hist.-Phil. Kl. (Berlin, 1925), 37. On painter-*baḫšïs* see E. Esin, "Four *bakhshïs* active in Iranian lands", *Memorial volume, Sixth Congress of Iranian art* (Teheran), 1972.

[22] See note 24 inf.

in Uyġur calligraphy, one of the manuscripts of the poet Ḥaydar Tilbe's (Ḥaydar, the exstatic) *Maḥzen'ul-asrār.*[23] The ecstatic poet, who may have belonged to the heterodox Ḳalandar order of dervishes, had lived before 1414, at the Iṣfaḫan court of the Temürid Iskandar Mirzā, son of ʿOmar-šaīḫ. The latter is represented on the genealogy of Topkapï, as fig. 49, according to the numeration in this paper. The connection with Ḥaydar Tilbe would explain the epithet "Ecstatic in God" which distinguishes the artist Čïn as a member of a mystic order.

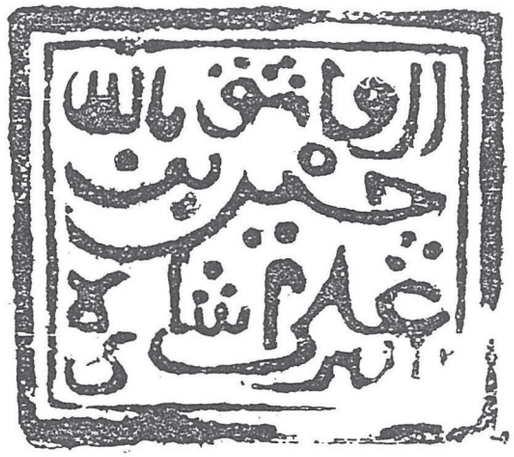

Fig. 37

The genealogy had been dated, by Togan,[24] as before 1423. Temür Küregen is not in this genealogy in that kneeling posture (fig. 45) which he adopted at the court of the Činǧizḫanids before 1402.[25] The scroll may thus have been designed after 1402. Although Togan had deciphered some of the names, they have been completed and amended by Sertkaya,[26] whose reading is here followed. The names of princes vary very slightly from other lists in the *Yüan-shih,*[27] in Rašïd'ud-Dïn's histories,[28] in the

[23] See Hofmann, entries "Ḫvarizm", and "Ḥaydar Türkīgūy". See also R. Arat, "Zu einer Schriftmusterhandschrift", *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher,* XXXIII/3–4 (1961). On Ḳalandars: E. Esin, "Eren", I, *Turcica,* XVII (1985), 24–30.

[24] Z. V. Togan, *On the Istanbul miniatures* (Istanbul, 1963), 10.

[25] See note 19 sup.

[26] O. Sertkaya, "Timurlu ṣeceresi", *Sanat târïhi yïllïğï,* IX–X (Istanbul, 1981), 241–51.

[27] L. Hambis, *Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan-che* (Leiden, 1945), 9 et seq.

[28] Rašïd'ud-Dïn Faḍlullāh, *Djāmiʿ'ut-Tawārïḫ,* A. Alizade ed. (Taškent, 1965), I/1, 35.

Fig. 2

Šuʿb,[29] in Abū'l-Ġāzī Bahadur's *Šedjere-i Turk*[30] and the *Muʿizz.* The Topkapï genealogy also includes both the Mongols and the Temürids.

The original lay-out of the scroll may be reconstituted, starting with the portion on fol. 42 of the Topkapï Miscellany H. 2152, where appears the inscription: *Alaŋ-ḳovanïŋ oġlanlarïnïŋ šuʿbesi bu yosun bile* (Therewith is the order of the princely sons of Alaŋ-ḳova). The ancestress is depicted twice, once with her historical husband (Dubun Bayan/Tobun Mergen) (fig. 1, in the numeration of this paper) in a composition similar to the equivalent in the Taškent ms, the couple being seated on a throne. Alaŋ-qova is seen again (fig. 2), with her legendary consort, whose double emanations, as an astral personification and a yellow dog, are denoted by a lunar orbit, beside her head and a retreating canine with mane (as the "Celestial or Azure wolf", Kök-böri, of the Oġuz legend).[31] The bristling aspect of the mane, indicated in steeds, a so-called dragon horse (breeds crossed with wild equines) of supernatural character. Alaŋ-ḳova's sons from both unions are not named, except Činŋiz Ḫan's ancestor, Bodon-

[29] See note 15 sup.

[30] Abu'l-Ġāzī, 61 et seq.

[31] *Kök-böri:* W. Bang-G. Rachmati, *Die Legende von Oghuz Qaġhan* (Berlin, 1932), line 141. Dragon-horse mane: E. Esin, "The Horse in Turkish art", *Central Asiatic Journal,* X/3–4 (December 1965), 192.

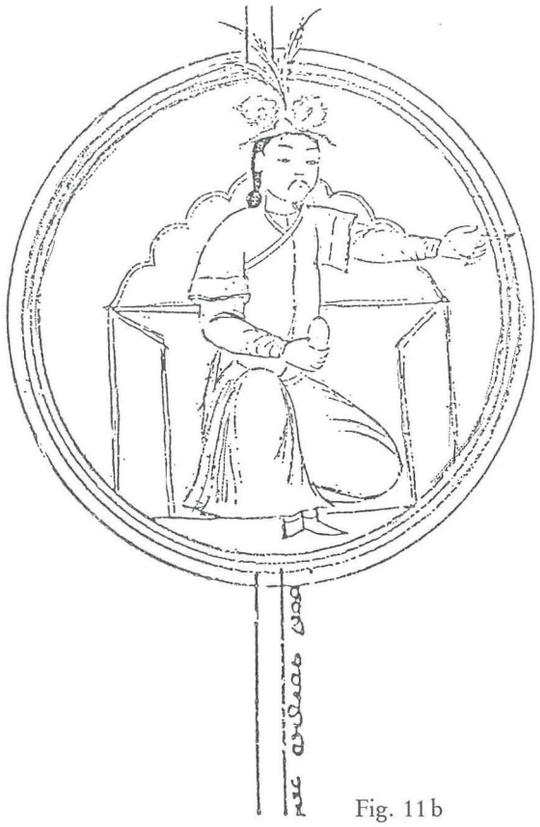

Fig. 11b

čar/Butančar, whose effigy has been cut off and appears on fol. 37 of the Miscellany (fig. 3). Below, under the inscription *Buḳanïŋ oġlanlarï bu yosun bile* (Therewith is the order of Buḳa's princely sons) comes an unnamed figure (Buḳa?), (fig. 4), followed by the effigy indicated as Tudun-menen (fig. 5), which has been cut in halves. On fol. 37 v. of the Miscellany take place the effigies of Ḳaydu Ḫan (fig. 6), of Baysunġur (fig. 7) and the inscription "Tumïne Ḫan", who seems depicted on fol. 43 v. (fig. 8). After Tumïne come his two sons, Kačulay and Kabïl Ḫan (figs. 9, 10). The name of the latter's issue, Barḍan Baġaḍur and Yigüsey Bagaḍur, are only written. Then follows a first representation of "Činŋis" (fig. 11/a) as a young boy, in humbly kneeling posture. This strange particularity may indicate that the scroll was, at least partly, elaborated anew, after the deposition of the lineage of Ögedey as Činŋizḫanid *Ḫans*

Fig. 16

(1402). Činngis reappears again on fol. 43 as an enthroned young man (fig. 11/b). On fols. 43, 36 v., 36, 33 v., 33, 38 v., 38, 32, 43 v., the Činngizḫanids are divided into two columns, a third column being reserved to the ancestors of the Temürids. On the first column, right proper of fol. 43, the name beside the upper figure (fig. 12) was "Činngis" but has been erased, to be replaced by Čöči. Below him are the effigies of Čaġaday (fig. 13) and Ögedey (fig. 14) segregated from its inscription and appearing on fol. 36 v. Then comes, always on the first column, the inscription *"Bu törtegü Cinngis Ḫan oġlanarïġ turur"*. (These four are the sons of Činngis Ḫan). Below is the portrait of Toluy Ḫan (fig. 15). The issue of Toluy is continued on folios 36, 38 v., with his sons Müngge (fig. 16), Khubilay (Ḳubilay) (fig. 17) and Ulap Ḫan (Hülegü) (fig. 18). The latter's portrait is preceded by four small médaillons, with the inscription: *Bu törtgü Toluy oġlanarïġ turur* (These four are the princely sons of Toluy). The issue of Toluy is continued on fol. 33 v. with Ariḳ Böke Ḫan (fig. 19). On folios 38, 32 and 32 v. begins the lineage of Toluy, via Hülegü, with the inscription *"Bu ikegü, olar Hülegü oġlanarïġ turur"* (These two, they are the princely sons of Hülegü), beside the effigies of Temür (fig. 20 and Aḥmed (fig. 21). Then follow the portraits of Abaḳa (fig. 22), Keyḫadu (fig. 23); Arġun (fig. 24);

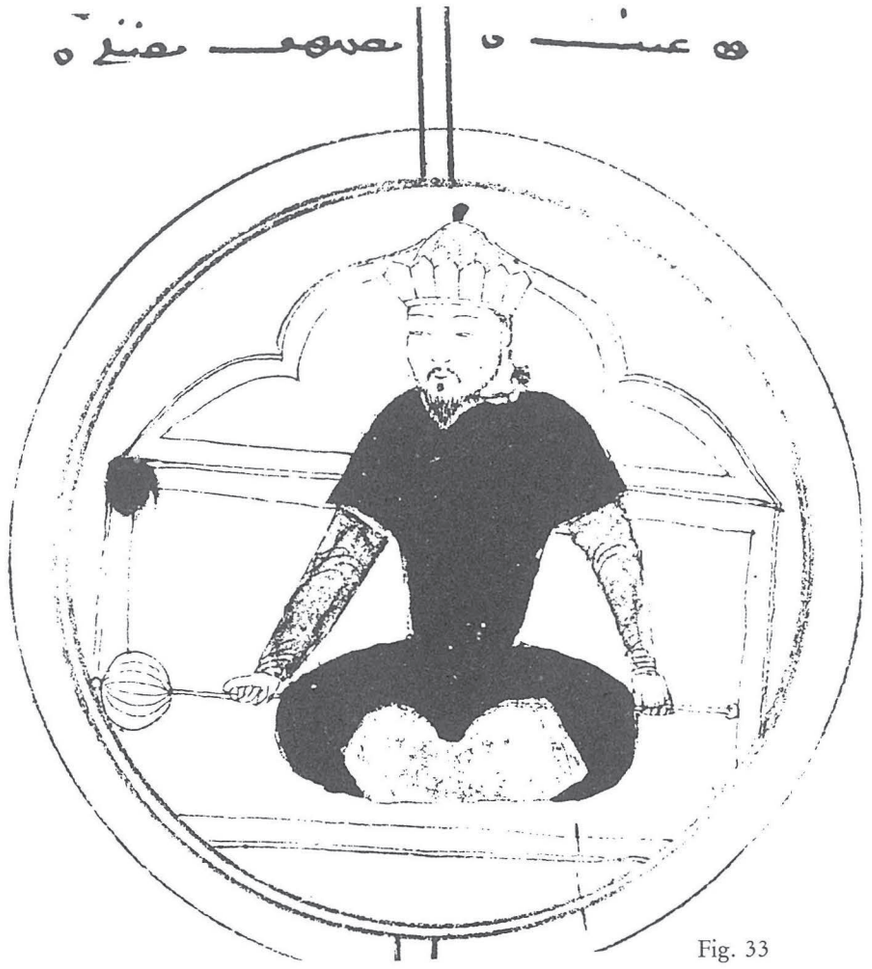

Fig. 33

Ḳasan (Ġazan) (fig. 25); Sarpanta (Öldjeytü Sar-bandah) (fig. 26); Busayit (Abū Saʿīd) (fig. 27); and the centrally placed inscription *"Ḳasan bile Sarpanta oġlanarïġ turur"* (The princely sons of Ḳasan and Sarpanta). This lineage then is concluded just after the Ilḫan Abū Saʿīd (1316–35).

Returning again to fol. 43, the second vertical column starts the issue of Čöči by Baduu (Batu) (fig. 28) and continues always in the second column, on folios 36 v., 36, 38 v., 38, with Toġan Ḫan (fig. 29); Menggü Temür (fig. 30); Toġrulča (fig. 31); Özbek (Özbek) (fig. 32); Čani (fig. 33) whose portrait is elaborately painted. The particular importance given to Čani-

Fig. 35

beg[32] of the Golden Horde (1341–56) may indicate that the scroll was made in the time of one of his Temürid descendants. Indeed, Čani-beg's daughter Šeker-beg[33] has also been portrayed (fig. 34), as well as her daughter by a Ḳonġrat prince, Ḫondzādah Sevin-beg[34] (fig. 35). As a prin-

[32] Niẓām'ud-Dīn Sāmī, *Ẓafar-nāmah,* ed. N. Lugal (Istanbul, 1929), see index of names. See also *Muʿizz,* fols. 116 v., 121 v. Also, W. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia,* II (Leiden, 1958), 34 and note 1.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

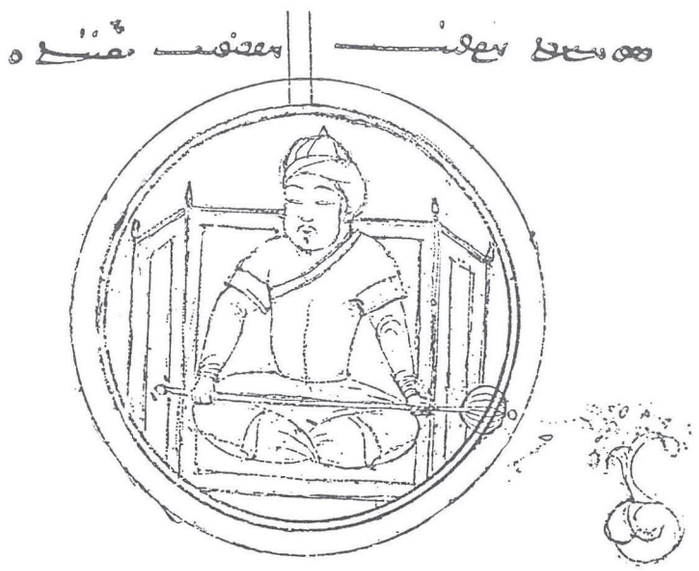

Fig. 36

cess of half Činn͡gizḫanid blood (*Ḫvondzādah*), Sevin-beg was greatly honoured by Temür Küregen, whose two sons she married in succession. From her marriage with Djahāngīr/(fig. 47), in 1374, was born Muḥammad Sulṭān (1375–1402) (fig. 51). After her first spouse's death, Sevin-beg wed another of Temür's sons, Mīrānšāh (fig. 48), to whom she bore Ḫalīl Sulṭān (1384–1411), who, as it will be seen below, appears as both a Činn͡gizḫanid (fig. 36) and a Temürid (fig. 52) on the scroll. As a Činn͡gizḫanid, Ḫalīl (fig. 36) is under his mother's portrait (fig. 35). Sevin-beg is here called *Sünbeg, Šekerbeg ḳïzï* (Sünbeg, daughter of Šeker-beg) and depicted as a portly woman (fig. 35), unlike her mother (fig. 34). One may suppose a contemporary portrait. Sünbeg/Sevin-beg's son Ḫalīl (fig. 36) resembles her and is represented with the inscription *Halīl Suldan* (sultān), *Sünbeg-oġlï* (Son of Sünbeg), in the frontally squatting posture (*baġdas*), reserved to great kings. One could deduce from all the preceding remarks that the scroll was made during Ḫalīl Sulṭān's short reign (1405–1407). The signature of the artist Čïn figures on this same folio 32 (fig. 37).

Returning to folio 43, the third vertical column is reserved to the Temürids and continues on folios 36 v., 36, 33 v., 33, with Erdemči Čarul-at ... (?) (fig. 38); Suġu Čečen (fig. 39); the name of Ḳaračar Noyan, cut away from his effigy (fig. 40); Ačïl (fig. 41); Alann͡gïr (half destroyed); Burgul/

Fig. 48

Bergel (fig. 42); Taraġay (fig. 44); Temür Küregen's carefully made and painted effigy, here in royal frontally squatting *baġdaš*[35] posture (fig. 45); of his five sons, Djahānšah (fig. 46); Djahāngīr (fig. 47); Mīrānšāh (fig. 48); ᶜOmar-šaīḫ (fig. 49) and Šāhruḫ (fig. 50). The Temürid names are also given in Arabic, in faulty spelling and a penmanship, not comparable to the quality of the Uyġur inscriptions (later additions?). The portraits of three of Temür's grand-children figure in the scroll. These are the two sons of Djihāngīr (fig. 47), Pīr Muḥammad (died 1402) (fig. 50); Muḥammad Sulṭān (1375–1402) (fig. 51) and below Mīrānšāh (fig. 48), Temür's third son, an unnamed turbaned figure, holding a flowery branch in hand (fig. 52), apparently Mīrānšāh's son by Sevin-beg (fig. 35); Ḫalīl Sulṭān, who had also been depicted as a Činn͡gizḫanid (fig. 36). The impression that Ḫalīl had ordered the scroll, during his reign (1405–1407), founded on multiple above cited reasons, is here strengthened, through his second appearance, at the end of the scroll, holding in hand a branch, which might be a miniature evocation of the tree, as symbol of a royal dynasty.[36]

Some names, in Arabic, at the end seem later additions.

[35] See note 38 infra.

[36] See note 13 supra.

III. The iconography of the Topkapï scroll

Čın, son of ᶜAlī-šah Baḫšî, although a Muslim Turk, as seen by his signature in Arabic script (fig. 37), belonged, or followed rather more the conventions of the non-Muslim Turco-Mongol world. He, of course, had to adhere to strict rules on the traditional etiquette of princely postures, clothes, weapons, and on the composition of genealogical lists. Although evidently knowledgeable in these and a good scribe, Čîn was mediocre in drawing (the hands of the figures are very awkward).

One remarks that in Čîn's scroll, as well as in others, round médaillons, symbolic of heaven, are reserved to men whose dominant elements were considered fiery, hence heavenly.[37] Women, on the other hand, are shown within square frames, the earth, a feminine element, being viewed as quadrangular.

The postures are graded, according to rank. The enthroned posture with pendant legs (such as Ḳasan Han, fig. 25) and the frontally squatting *baġdaš* (Temür/fig. 20) were in the tradition of Buddhist Turkish iconography, the privilege of saints or of the monarchs to whom a special importance was attributed.[38] The squatting postures, with left, or right knee raised, could be connected with the formal order of symmetrically disposed alignment, similarly to the lay-out of the *Muᶜizz*. The kneeling posture, with one or both knees, corresponds, in texts, to a less or more menial rank.[39]

The objects held in hand, such as the bow and arrow (figs. 13, 16, 22, 30, 31), the mallett (figs. 32, 33, 36); the sword (figs. 23,26) were considered traditionally royal weapons.[40] Others, including the women in the scroll (figs. 34, 35), hold the *suvluḳ* (hankerchief, or cloth in which the seal of authority could be wrapped).[41] Aḥmed, son of Hülegü, displays an apple-like object (fig. 21).

[37] See sources in E. Esin, *Türk kosmolojisi, Erken devir* (English abstract: *Early Turkish cosmology*), (Istanbul, 1979), 3, 7–8.

[38] On all Turkish sedent postures, see E. Esin, "Oldruġ-turuġ", *Kunst des Orients* (Berlin, 1971/2), 2–29.

[39] Ibid.

[40] See the representations of Činn͡gizḫanid kings of eastern Turkistan, in E. Esin, "Çagatay devrinde, doğu Türkistan'da, resimli bir Han silsilenâmesi", *Review of the Institute of Islamic studies,* V/1–4, (Istanbul, 1973), 179, 181, 184.

[41] See sources in E. Esin, "A Pair of miniatures from the Miscellany collections of Topkapî", *Central Asiatic Journal,* XXI/1, (Wiesbaden, 1977), 27 and notes 57–59.

The clothes and physical appearance are, in majority, those described in sources and iconography on Tucks and Mongols, in contrast to Muslims:[42] brimmed hats (*kıdılıg börk*),[43] instead of turbans; tight-sleeved *ḳaftans* which could not allow the ablution of the forearms (the short-sleeved overcoat, *ḳuluḳ-toŋ*[44], and the *ḳur,*[45] the honorific belt, were worn in both areas. The *ḳur,* which implied a vow of fidelity, does not seem to have been used by rulers). The Turco-Mongol princes had long hair, clean-shaven faces, or goatee beards, while the Muslims shaved their hair and had rounded beards, clipped around the mouth.[46] The feathers, profusely depicted on some hats of the princes on the scroll, were tokens of marksmanship.[47] Some princes wear the coronet, or the crown-like hat, with upturned dented brim, the headgear of bodhisattvas in Central Asian and Turkish Buddhism, later extended to angels, dervishes, kings in the Islamic period.[48] It was compared, in the Selčuḳid age, to the radiant sun. Worn also by Mongol princes, it acquired the name of *Moġol-börk.* It may be seen, on the scroll, on figs. 19, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33. The portrait of Ḫalīl Sulṭān (fig. 36) and the unnamed effigy, probably also depicting him (fig. 52), are distinguished from others through their turbans. The mushroom-shaped headgear, worn by a category of Uyġur dignitaries and by married women in the Mongol period (*boġtaḳ*), is seen illustrated on the ladies of the scroll (figs. 34, 35).

The physical typology, generally mongolid, may be divided in groups: So ancestors and issue of Činŋiz Ḫan (figs. 1, 3, 6, 7, 10, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, 26, 27, 31, 33, 35, 36), including women (Alaŋ-ḳova, in fig. 2), as well as Temür's forefathers (figs. 38, 39, 40, 43, 44) have mongolid faces of round, square-jawed variety. Other figures in the same groups (Alan-ḳova, in fig. 8, 13, 14, 17, 20, 22, 25 among Činŋizḫanids; figs. 45, 48, 50 of the Temürids and young boys of both lineages, in figs. 4, 5, 9, 11, 24, 41, 46) are equally Mongolids, but with thinner and longer faces.

[42] Ibid., 13–34 and pls. II/a, b.

[43] See Maḥmūd Kāšġarī, *A'd-Dīvānu luġāt'it-Turk,* B. Atalay ed., (Ankara, 1940–43), index, s.v. Illustrations; E. Esin, "Bedük-börk", *Communications to the Ninth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference,* (Napoli, 1971), pls. IA, IB.

[44] Kāšgarī, index, s.v.

[45] See sources in E. Esin, "Ḳur-ḳurşaḳ", *Central Asiatic Journal,* XXIV/3–4, (Wiesbaden, 1980).

[46] See note 41 sup.

[47] See Kāsgarī, entry "Uyġur".

[48] Buddhist period: see Esin, "Bedük-börk", pls. III, IVA, IVB. Mongol period: Esin, "Çagatay ...", 178, notre 128.

Fig. 16 which personifies Müngge has a particular non-mongolid aspect, wholly unlike that of his father Toluy (fig. 15). Müngge was born of a Kerait (Turkish, in Pelliot's opinion)[49] princess (Sorḳoḳtanī Beki).[50] The artist might have reproduced what he considered a Kerait typology.

[49] P. Pelliot, *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient* (Paris, 1973), 243–44.

[50] J. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York, 1971), 197.